DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 168 709 PS 010 477

AUTHOR Hartup, Willard W.
TITLE Current Issues in Social Development.
PUB DATE Mar 79
NOTE 28p.; Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development (San Francisco, California, March 15-18, 1979) ; Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Child Rearing; Children; Environmental Influences; *Family Influence; Family Life; Family Relationship; *Interaction Process Analysis; *Interpersonal Competence; Parent Child Relationship; Parent Influence; *Peer Relationship; Primatology; Psychological Studies; Security (Psychology); Siblings; *Social Adjustment; Social Behavior; *Social Development; Social Environment; Socialization; Student School Relationship

ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the literature concerned with the effect of various social systems (e.g., the family and the school) on the growth of social competence in the individual child and makes suggestions for further research. The discussion employs the contemporary view of socialization which emphasizes reciprocal causality (i.e., the reciprocal consequences ensuing each time a child interacts with another individual). The first section deals with research on the major social worlds of the child--family, peers, and school--and stresses both how those worlds affect the child and vice versa. For example, the relations between a child's parents will influence the child's social development, but the child's actions also influence the parents' relationship. The second section discusses the interrelationship among the child's social worlds, with a focus on how family relations affect peer relations and vice versa. Considerable use is made of primate studies in arguing that secure family relations have important consequences for peer relations, although the nature of the social interaction differs greatly between the two systems. It is concluded that family relations provide the basis for the child's exploration of the social world which is necessary for social adaptation. Throughout the document, recommendations are made for more detailed empirical analysis of the child's interactions with others and their effects on social development. An extensive bibliography is appended. (Author/BH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Current issues in social development

Willard W. Hartup

University of Minnesota

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Willard W. Hartup

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

ED168709

Introduction

Children live in a social world--a world inhabited by millions of other people. Only a few of these individuals interact directly with the child but they protect the young child from danger, gratify bodily needs, and stimulate the growth of essential skills (e.g., language). And, later, it is people toward whom the child directs a major share of attention, affect, energy, and effort. No more important achievement occurs in human development than the child's understanding that people, as people, have unique significance.

The study of social development can be divided into four main areas: a) the development of social responsivity; b) developmental constraints on the utilization of social information (including those inductive and deductive processes known as social reasoning); c) the ontogeny of social relations; and d) the attainment of social responsibility. Research activity in each of these areas has accelerated enormously over the last ten years: the literature contains hundreds of new articles on the emergence of discriminative social activity in the early years, the child's changing understandings about the social world and its constituent units, the emergence and transformation of

---

This paper was presented at the biennial meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development, San Francisco, CA, March 17, 1979. An expanded version will be published later this year (Hartup, 1979).

PS010477

certain social relations, and developmental changes in the child's processing of social information. Now, once again, the child's interactions with the social environment engage the interest of many, many members of the Society for Research in Child Development.

To an orientation lecturer, two alternatives are available to me: a) to survey the current work on social responsivity, relations, reasoning, and responsibility, and to attempt a critical assessment of "trends and issues"; or b) to survey a narrower domain within which more extensive arguments can be made about the "state of the art." The first alternative seems infeasible, so no cosmic overview of the heterogeneous activity that passes as "research in social development" will be attempted. Rather, my remarks will be centered on social relations and the study of the child as a member of various social systems--on illustrative issues in the study of intra-system dynamics and on the manner in which various social systems may combine to affect the growth of social competence in the individual child.

The social worlds of the child

The contemporary view of socialization emphasizes reciprocal causalities, i.e., the reciprocal consequences ensuing each time a child interacts with another individual. Reciprocal causalities in childhood socialization occur within a many-layered network simultaneously embracing social interactions, social relations, and social structures. The proximity-seeking of the year-old infant, for example, occurs within: a) an intermingling of the baby's activities and the activities of the mother; b) an ongoing attachment bebween the two

individuals; and c) a complex social system--the family. Aggression, on the other hand, usually involves: a) an intermingling of the young child's activities with the activities of another child--most commonly an associate who is similar in age; b) an ongoing relationship with the other child; and c) another complex social system--the peer culture.

The family. The social world to which most children are exposed initially is the family--a complex unit varying widely in composition and cohesiveness from family to family as well as from culture to culture. As a social system, the family can be conceived as a constellation of sub-systems defined in terms of generation, gender, and role (Feiring & Lewis, 1978). Divisions of labor between family members define certain sub-units and attachments define others. Each individual is a member of several sub-systems--some dyadic and/some polyadic. Serious study of the reciprocal causalities existing in family socialization, then, requires consideration of a bewildering array of questions: For example, how do parent-child relations affect the child? How does the relation between spouses affect relations between siblings? How do sibling relations affect husband-wife interaction?

Although the family is the most thoroughly studied of the social systems bearing on child development, our knowledge is uneven about the reciprocal causalities existing within it. The traditional theories of personality and social development have spawned thousands of investigations relating parent characterisitics, on the one hand, to child characteristics and actions, on the other. Numerous difficulties,

however, have been encountered through: a) the failure to recognize that both parents and children are changing individuals in a changing world; b) the failure to understand that parent-child relations involve reciprocal causalities; and c) the use of methodologies with limited capacities to demonstrate cause-and-effect relations. Analogue experiments--either with family members recruited into the laboratory or with the child exposed to surrogate socialization agents--have assisted in establishing causal direction in parent-child interaction, and longitudinal methodologies have been improved.

Missing from this literature, however, are studies in which the main measures relate to parent-child interaction rather than to the actions of parents and their children as individuals. The study of attachment, for example, usually involves measures of the child's affective and motoric actions vis-à-vis the mother. More might be learned about the nature of attachment through the use of measures based on synchronizations in the actions of the two individuals--in visual contact, vocalization, movement, physical contact, and mimicry (Hartup & Lempers, 1973). Such measures would enlarge the scope of the analysis considerably beyond the individual child's reactions to the mother (and how these change over time).

Other limitations in family research have been mentioned by other

commentators: a) the excessive study of mother-child relations in contrast to the study of father-child relations (cf., Lamb, 1976); b) the small literature concerning the effects of children on their parents and their marital relations (cf., Lerner & Spanier, 1978); and c) the small number of studies dealing with marital relations and their effects on children. Yet it is obvious that the nuclear family contains two parents, not one, and that these individuals serve each other as sources of support as well as sources of dissatisfaction--conditions whose effects on children would seem to be obvious. Indeed, the work of Pederson and his associates (e.g., Pederson, Anderson, & Cain, Note 1) shows that, when husbands were supportive of their wives rather than non-supportive, the mothers' interactions with their babies were more extensive, sensitive, and affectionate. Conflict between parents also was shown to be associated with negative feelings directed toward the children. Other reciprocal causalities in family relations are suggested by studies showing that the birth of the first child has a negative impact on marital relations (Rollins & Galligan, 1978) and produces a shift in the mother and father toward more stereotyped masculine and feminine roles (Lamb, 1978).

Perhaps the most understudied reciprocal causalities in family relations are those involving sibling interaction. Earlier studies (e.g., on the effects of birth order and family constellation) have yielded an inconsistent literature centered on second-order issues. It may be less urgent, for example, to establish the amount of variance in intellectual abilities traceable to birth order than to establish the

manner in which the interaction between a child and a younger sibling may relate generally to the social adaptation of both children. Sibling interaction may be rich in unique contributions to childhood socialization since it is more equalitarian than parent-child interaction. Also, sibling interaction usually precedes interaction with children outside the family, thus serving as a bridge between family relations and the peer culture.

While numerous social networks within the family are understudied, their significance is now more widely recognized than earlier in the history of the social sciences (Feiring & Lewis, 1978). Methodological limitations constrain empirical work on some of these networks but "systems" views and methods of interaction analysis are rapidly improving--and scarcely in time: a thorough account of familial reciprocities is central to understanding deviant as well as normal socialization. Research on child abuse, for example, cannot move forward using only non-interactionist views of the family; many other issues in child and family policy also require a comprehensive "systems" analysis.

The peer system. Additions and extensions of the competencies emerging from parent-child interaction occur in a second social world--the peer culture. An appreciation of the role of peer interaction in the growth of social competence has emerged only recently (cf., Whiting & Whiting, 1975; Hartup, 1976), although the ubiquity of children's societies has long been recognized. Even now, the contributions of peer interaction to the child's capacities to relate to others, to regulate

emotional expression, and to understand complex social events are not well understood.

Children's societies are known to be diverse in terms of their composition and structure. Certain markers (e.g., age and sex) are correlated with the kinds of social events occurring within these societies. Associative activity and aggression, for example, occur most frequently among children who are similar to one another in chronological age. Nurturance and dominance, on the other hand, occur mainly in a child's interactions with younger children (especially with babies) while dependency occurs mainly in interaction with older children (Barker & Wright, 1955; Whiting & Whiting, 1975). Even very young children are aware of the differences and similarities existing between themselves and other children in chronological age, making a variety of accommodations to them. Child-child relations thus are differentiated according to age (also according to sex), necessitating a close examination of these organizational elements.

Friendship relations are among the more complex features of the peer system. Differences in the extensiveness of friendship networks, the similarities and complementarities existing between friends in attitudes and behavior, and age-related changes in children's awareness of their friends are receiving increasing research attention. One understudied issue, however, concerns the manner in which social interaction varies according to friendship status. More "intimate" interaction seems to occur between children and their friends than between children and their acquaintances (Foot, Chapman, & Smith, 1977; Brady, Newcomb,

& Hartup, 1979), but the situational limitations on these findings are largely unknown. Also, these studies have not been particularly rich in methods of measurement and certain important questions remain: e.g., Are the interactions of friends more synchronous than the interactions of acquaintances? Do interactions with friends and with acquaintances have different implications for affect regulation? Do children's conceptions of friendship bear on their behavior with their friends?

Complex social structures also characterize the peer system. Dominance hierarchies, for example, have been studied through observations of nursery school children centered on the occurrence of attacks, threats, and object/position struggles (Strayer, 1979). Linear dominance hierarchies have been documented, although considerable variation exists from group to group in the symmetry and stability of these structures. The ranking of individual children within such hierarchies seems to be predictive of general social competence, especially to the attention given to the individual child by other children. But developmental changes are not well documented, and little is known about the existence of hierarchies based on altruism and affection.

Overall, current theoretical and empirical work in peer relations is diverse. Recent studies have clarified the manner in which peer interaction proceeds from simple overtures in early childhood to complex hierarchies, from loose differentiation in social encounters to discriminative interaction, and from primitive awareness of the needs of others to the use of complex social attributions. Normative activity and hierarchization characterize the peer relations of young children as

well as adolescents, but the nature of both social interaction and social structures would seem to change in relation to chronological age. These developmental assertions need elaboration, however, before the intra-system dynamics contained in peer relations can be adequately understood.

The school. For children in Western cultures, the school is also a social world of major significance. The American secondary school was described in systemic terms by Gordon (1957), Coleman (1961), and others, while the British secondary school has been studied recently by Rutter (1979). Nevertheless, the school as a social system has not been well described in relation to the growth of social competence in the individual child. Given the extent to which the school is used as a socializing agency, our lack of knowledge concerning its social dynamics is shocking. And the interdependencies existing between the school and other social systems involving children badly need to be studied Conflict and contention are mentioned in the extant literature, but one guesses that such assertions are based on the more sensational events occurring in family/peer/school relations than the more routine ones.

Other social systems. Other social worlds of the child are ancillary to these three: some revolve around formal organizations, some around informal enclaves. Their ancillary status, however, should not tempt one to conclude that the contributions of these systems to the child's socialization are secondary or tertiary. To the extent that any social system adds unique variance to children's social competencies, that system has unrivalled significance in the socialization process.

Indeed, our aim should not be the isolation of sources of variation in the growth of social competence so much as the analysis of the interaction between the various social systems in determining the development of the child.

Inter-system dependencies: Family relations and peer relations

Child-child relations are both similar to, and different from, adult-child relations. The young child, for example, uses smiling, vocalizing, and touching similarly in interaction with adults and with other children (Eckerman, Whatley, & Kutz, 1975). At the same time, rough-and-tumble play occurs mostly with children and rarely in commerce with adults. Stress elicits differential reactions by young children toward adults and toward other children, although evidence on this issue is scarce (Patterson, Bonvillian, Reynolds, & Maccoby, 1975).

Later, children's interactions with adult associates and with child associates become more extensively differentiated: a) different actions are used to express affection to child associates and to adults; b) dominance and nurturance are directed from adults to children while appeals and submission are direction more frequently by children to adults than vice versa.

Differentiation between the social worlds of the family and the peer culture continues through adolescence. In a study of "cross pressures," Brittain (1963) discovered that adult endorsement was sought more frequently when norms involving future aspirations or achievement were involved, whereas the reverse was true with status norms and identity issues. Value orientations thus seem to be differentiated

according to the normative issues involved. This normative differentiation between the family system and the peer system is most marked during middle adolescence--especially with respect to the occurrence of normative opposition (Berndt, Note 2).

The evidence, then, suggests that children live in distinctive, albeit coordinate, social worlds. Family relations and peer relations constitute similar sociobehavioral contexts in some ways and different ones in others. Children may not conceive of separate normative worlds until early adolescence because child associates are not used extensively as normative models before that time (Emmerich, Goldman, & Shore, 1971; Berndt, Note 2). But the family system and the peer system elicit distinctive socio-emotional activity many years before these normative distinctions are made. The complex interrelations between the family and peer systems thus work themselves out over long periods of time (Hill, 1980).

Two theoretical models have been used to account for the manner in which the family system and the peer system are interrelated: a) single process models--wherein social competencies are believed to evolve in family interaction with extensions and elaborations occurring in peer interaction; and b) multi-process models--wherein specific competencies are believed to emerge more-or-less independently in one or the other context. According to the single process model, security in the mother-child attachment system should promote effectance in peer interaction through a general strengthening of the ego and the transfer of specific social skills from the primary situation to the secondary one. According

to multi-process theories, or the other hand, infant-mother socialization contributes to specific social skills--e.g., to the controlling mechanisms necessary for success in heterosexual and parental functions in later life. The peer system, on the other hand, contributes to skills required later for interaction with agemates (cf., Harlow & Harlow, 1965).

The early "deprivation" studies conducted at the University of Wisconsin Primate Laboratories suggested near-independence between the infant-mother affectional system and the peer affectional system. One series of studies (cf., Harlow, 1969) was concentrated on the development of rhesus infants raised with peers but without contact with mothers and, in other instances, on the development of infants raised with mothers but without contact with other infants. Animals raised with agemates developed strong attachments to one another and manifested intense proximity-seeking. When such rearing involved several same-age animals, affective and instrumental disturbances in subsequent encounters with other animals were not apparent. Social competencies were less well-generalized among animals reared with a single associate, but marked deficiences were not evident under those rearing conditions, either. Rearing by the mother without peer contact, on the other hand, produced animals who showed both contemporaneous disturbances in play behavior and long-term disturbances in affective development. Wariness and hyper-aggressiveness were outstanding characteristics. Taken together, the results of these investigations suggest that early experience with age-mates constitute a unique base for learning affective controls and social skills.

Certain limitations exist, however, in interpreting these results. The "peer deprivation" studies were conducted with mothers and infants caged together--a condition which may have had deleterious effects on the mothers which then transferred to the infants. Such confinements sometimes make the mother irritable with her infant, thereby distorting normal socialization processes. In addition, infants who have no access to peers attempt to play with the mother and such overtures tend to elicit negative reactions from her (Hinde, 1974).

In more recent work from the Wisconsin Laboratories (Suomi, 1978), experiences with mothers and with other infants have been shown to become integrated in more complex ways. Peer-rearing brings about a superficially adequate adaptation in adulthood, but the behaviors associated with such rearing conditions are not identical with the actions of animals reared with both mothers and other infants (Suomi, 1978). The two social worlds of the child seem, then, to interact as a complementary synergism.

The nature of this synergism can be extracted from various literatures, including both the literarure on non-human primates and the literature of child development. First, it is obvious that the child's early attachment to the mother serves to provide a "secure base" (Ainsworth, 1967) which reduces fear in strange situations and promotes exploration of the environment. Among the consequences of this exploration are encounters with other animals. Among non-human primates, these encounters ordinarily do not include sustained associations with adult or sub-adult animals; such animals reject the infant. But, in

almost every situation, this exploratory activity brings about contact with agemates. These contacts do not produce rejection but, rather, elicit social interaction in the form of play.

Second, the mother takes an active role in directing her offspring toward engagements with other infants. She rejects play overtures from her own offspring and ensures proximity between her infant and other infants by remaining close to the members of a larger social unit--the troop. Thus, the attachment bond is both an affective and an instrumental base that ensures the infant's engagement in peer relations. In this way, the infant-mother social system ensures contact with a second social system that, in turn, contributes on its own to the growth of various social competencies.

Correlational studies of children and adolescents suggest that warm, secure conditions within the family are associated with self-confidence, instrumental competence, and success in peer relations. Correlational evidence, of course, can be consistent with either traditional notions about system interdependence or the conjunctive inter-system model being formulated here; correlations merely establish the association between the mother-child and child-child measures and do not demonstrate cause-and-effect relations between them.

In a recent study of three-year olds, Lieberman (1977) explored the relation between the security of the child's attachment to the mother and the effectiveness of the child's interactions with an agemate. Previous experience with peers was also included as a predictor variable. This measure was presumed to be an index of the extent to

which the mother encouraged peer interaction, since young children do not control their own whereabouts. Observations of mother-child interaction were conducted in the home and observations of behavior with agemates were conducted in a familiar playroom in the nursery school. Children whose attachments to the mother were rated as "secure" (Ainsworth, Bell, and Stayton, 1971) were more responsive to other children and engaged in more protracted social interactions than did children who were not securely attached. The security of the attachment was correlated mainly with non-verbal dimensions of peer interaction. In addition, those children whose mothers arranged contact with other children in the home were more mature in the verbal dimensions of their interaction with the other child. The evidence thus supports the thesis that secure attachments predict two outcomes: a) positive and persistent engagement with other children, expressed mainly in non-verbal ways; and b) the direct use of social communicative skills with other children. Other evidence shows that even among "securely attached" infants, peer interaction varies according to the nature of the mother-child relationship. Eighteen-month olds whose interaction with their mothers was characterized by distal modes (looking, talking) were more likely to engage a strange baby in social interaction than were babies whose contacts with the mother were marked by intense proximity-seeking (Easterbrooks & Lamb, 1979).

Another recent study (Waters, Wippman, and Sroufe, 1979) concerns the relation between the security of the child's attachment to the mother ("secure attachments" versus "anxious attachments") assessed

from videotape recordings at 15 months of age and peer interactions assessed on the basis on 5 weeks of observer experience with the children when they were enrolled in nursery school (i.e., when their average age was 42 months). As compared to the anxiously attached children, the securely attached children were: a) socially active rather than withdrawn; b) sought out by other children; c) peer leaders; d) active in making suggestions; e) sympathetic to peer distress; f) participative in social activity rather than onlookers; and g) not hesitant in reacting to overtures from other children. Various measures of ego-strength also differentiated the two groups of children, although measured IQ did not. These data also support the hypothesis that secure attachments within the mother-child social system promote a positive orientation toward other children, active engagement in peer relations, and the child's centrality in the peer group--over a considerable time span. The study does not elucidate the social learning processes involved in each of these social worlds, but it establishes that security in one social system predicts successful adaptation in the other.

Correlational research with older children is consistent with the results for younger children. Using interview and sociometric methods with elementary school boys, Winder and Rau (1963) found that both the mothers and fathers of "likeable" children made few demands for aggression and did not use aggressive punishment extensively. The mothers rarely used deprivation of privileges as a disciplinary technique, had high self-esteem, and were well adjusted. The fathers of the high-status

children also were favorably oriented toward their sons' competencies and provided supportive reinforcement. The qualities in parent-child relations of the high status boys thus included discouragement of anti-social behavior, infrequent frustration and punishment, and supportive reinforcement. Such features suggest that parent-child relations were relatively more "secure" in the case of the high-status boys than among children who were less well established in the peer culture. Since attachment was not measured directly, however, it must be understood that this interpretation is drawn indirectly from the evidence.

Elkins (1958) also found that children whose parents were satisfied with them received higher sociometric scores than children whose parents were dissatisfied with them. Absence of family tension, along with loving and casual parental attitudes have been predictive of high peer status in several other studies (cf. Hoffman, 1961). Both maternal and paternal affection are positively correlated with self-confidence, assertiveness, and effective skills in peer interaction. Finally, data from children themselves present much the same picture: well-liked children are more satisfied with their home lives and describe their families as more cohesive than do less well-accepted children (Elkins, 1958).

Once again, caution is needed in evaluating these data. Children who are well integrated into the world of other children may enjoy comfortable affectional relations with their parents owing to attributes such as attractiveness or brightness--characteristics that everyone evaluates positively. It is risky to conclude, from such evidence,

that secure parent-child relations are necessary precursors of success in peer relations. Nevertheless, the correlational data are consistent with the theory at hand, namely, that the child's relations with his/her parents provide the emotional and instrumental base for exploration of the child-child social system and orients the child toward that same system. According to this view of the social world of the child, family relations make peer relations possible; the earlier experiences merely maximize the probability that successful peer experiences will ensue.

A small body of evidence shows the adverse effects of family disruption on social behavior and development and converges with the literature discussed above. In general, these studies show that, following divorce or the death of a parent, children are more likely to manifest acting out, aggressive, antisocial, and expressive behaviors than children from nuclear families. Mostly, the data base consists of parent reports on behavior occurring within the family context.

Until recently, documentation was lacking concerning the manner in which these disruptions affect, in turn, the child-child social system. Now, Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1979) have studied the peer interactions of 24 boys and girls from divorced families (in which the mother had custody of the child) along with a matched sample of boys and girls from nuclear families. Observations in nursery schools were conducted two months, one year, and two years after the divorce. Teacher ratings and peer nominations were also obtained. In common with all children, the play behavior of the children from divorced families became cognitively and socially more mature with increasing age. Their

social activity, however, was very different from the social activity of the children from nuclear families. Sex differences were also evident. First, affective disturbance in the peer relations of both boys and girls were noted two months after divorce: a) the children were less happy, affectionate, and task oriented and were more depressed, anxious, guilty, and apathetic than children from nuclear families; and b) the children from divorced families were more antagonistic and aggressive, showing more negative affect than the children from nuclear families. Over time, these differences gradually disappeared for girls; differences in both depression and acting out behaviors had disappeared two years following the divorce. Boys from divorced families were still more hostile and less happy two years after the divorce than were boys from nuclear families.

Parallel differences were observed in the children's play: At two months after divorce, both boys and girls evidenced more functional play, less imaginative play, less associative-constructive play, and less cooperative-constructive play than children from nuclear families. One year following divorce, the only differences remaining for girls were lowered scores for imaginative play among the children from divorced families. Two years afterward, these differences had disappeared. Among boys, though, differences were observed between children from divorced families and from nuclear families at all three time periods. As contrasted to boys from nuclear families, boys from divorced families showed: a) more solitary and parallel play with toys; b) less cooperative, constructive, imaginative, and game play; c) more onlooker

behavior; d) shorter play episodes; and e) over time, increasing contact with younger children and girls. Overall, the longitudinal changes associated with divorce are consistent with the theory of system interdependencies advocated here. Initially, the conflict in the home situation seems to induce affective insecurity and constrict the child's freedom to explore the environment. In turn, the child's engagements with other children are constrained and, over time, retardation occurs in play development.

The social retardation lasts longer, for some reason, in the case of boys than in the case of girls--maybe because girls receive more supportive interactions from their teachers and their mothers. Indeed, such interactions occurred in the Hetherington, et al. study more commonly with girls than with boys. Such interactions would serve to reestablish secure adult-child relations from which the child, in turn, can return to explorations of the wider social world. The sex differences in the "recovery" of social competencies in the aftermath of divorce need further exploration, of course.

Summary

Family relations and peer relations are very different social systems. While the social interaction occurring in each system becomes more complex and more differentiated as children grow older, the nature of the social interaction differs greatly between the two systems.

Parent-child relations, especially the mother-child relationship, produce an affective and instrumental base from which the young primate (including the young child) can explore the wider social world without

undue anxiety or distress. Specific competencies, such as language and role-taking skills, as well as self-esteem, may emanate from this system and later be elaborated in other contexts. But the major function of family relations, from early childhood through adolescence, seems to be the provision of a basis for environmental exploration. Exploratory activity then brings the child into contact with many different social objects, among which are other children. Through interaction with these associates, the child then extends his/her competencies in communication and role-taking. These associations also result in the direct acquisition of a constellation of unique attitudes and affects--each essential to social adaptation.

Parents also exercise managerial functions with respect to the social lives of their children, selecting particular sociobehavioral contexts to which the children will be exposed. Mothers determine the timing and circumstances under which their offspring will have contact with child associates, teachers, and other individuals. In most instances, this management maximizes the child's exposure to socializing agents who can extend, elaborate, and multiply his/her adaptive potential--far beyond what the mother could do alone.

While individual differences exist in the sensitivity of parents to the needs of their offspring, the evolutionary evidence indicates that parental "folkwisdom" results in more than social management by trial and error: the species survives. Individual differences are also evident in the affective security existing within family relations but, again, secure attachments outnumber insecure or anxious attachments.

Most commonly, then, family relations provide the child with freedom to explore the social world of the peer culture and make certain that the child comes in contact with that world. These system conjunctions are among the most universal, most essential, and most elegantly-adapted linkages in the course of human development. And their empirical verification is one of the most important issues in the contemporary study of social development.

References

Ainsworth, M. D. S. Infancy in Uganda: Infant care and the growth of love. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967.

Ainsworth, M. D. S., Bell, S. M., & Stayton, D. J. Individual differences in strange situation behavior of one-year-olds. In H. R. Schaffer (Ed.), The origins of human social relations. New York: Academic Press, 1971.

Barker, R. G., & Wright, H. F. Midwest and its children. New York: Harper & Row, 1955.

Berndt, T. J. Developmental changes in conformity to peers and parents. Unpublished manuscript, Yale University, 1978.

Brady, J. E., Newcomb, A. F., & Hartup, W. W. Friendship and incentive condition as determinants of children's task-oriented social behavior. Child Development, 1979, in press.

Brittain, C. V. Adolescent choices and parent-peer cross-pressures. American Sociological Review, 1963, 28, 385-391.

Coleman, J. S. The adolescent society. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961.

Easterbrooks, M. A., & Lamb, M. E. The relationship between quality of infant-mother attachment and infant peer competence. Child Development, 1979, in press.

Eckerman, C. O., Whatley, J. L., & Kutz, S. L. The growth of social play with peers during the second year of life. Developmental Psychology, 1975, 11, 42-49.

Elkins, D. Some factors related to the choice status of ninety eighth-grade children in a school society. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1958, 58, 207-272.

Emmerich, W., Golden, K. S., & Shore, R. E. Differentiation and development of social norms. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1971, 18, 323-353.

Feiring, C., & Lewis, M. The child as a member of the family system. Behavioral Science, 1978, 23, 225-233.

Foot, H. C., Chapman, A. J., & Smith, J. R. Friendship and social responsiveness in boys and girls. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1977, 35, 401-411.

Gordon, C. W. The social system of the high school. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.

Harlow, H. F. Age-mate or peer affectional system. In D. S. Lehrman, R. A. Hinde, & E. Shaw (Eds.), Advances in the study of behavior. Vol. 2. New York: Academic Press, 1969.

Harlow, H. F., & Harlow, M. K. The affectional systems. In A. M. Schrier, H. F. Harlow, & F. Stollnitz (Eds.), Behavior of nonhuman primates. Vol. 2. New York: Academic Press, 1965.

Hartup, W. W. Peer interaction and the behavioral development of the individual child. In E. Schopler & R. J. Reichler (Eds.), Psychopathology and child development. New York: Plenum, 1976.

Hartup, W. W. Two social worlds: Family relations and peer relations. In M. Rutter (Ed.), Scientific foundations of developmental psychiatry. [illegible]

Hartup, W. W., & Lempers, J. A problem in life-span development: The interactional analysis of family attachments. In P. Baltes & K. W. Schaie (Eds.), Life-span developmental psychology: Personality and socialization. New York: Academic Press, 1973.

Hetherington, E. M. The effects of familial variables on sex role typing, parent-child similarity, and imitation in children. In J. P. Hill (Ed.), Minnesota symposia on child psychology. Vol. 1. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967.

Hetherington, E. M., Cox, M., & Cox, R. Play and social interaction in children following divorce. Journal of Social Issues, 1979, in press.

Hill, J. P. The early adolescent and the family. In National Society for the Study of Education. The seventy-ninth yearbook. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980, in press.

Hinde, R. A. Biological bases of human social behaviour. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

Hoffman, L. W. The father's role in the family and the child's peer-group adjustment. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 1961, 7, 97-105.

Lamb, M. E. (Ed.), The role of the father in child development. New York: Wiley, 1976.

Lamb, M. E. Influence of the child on marital quality and family interaction during the prenatal, perinatal, and infancy periods. In R. M. Lerner & G. B. Spanier (Eds.), Child influences on marital and family interaction. New York: Academic Press, 1978.

Lerner, R. M., & Spanier, G. B. (Eds.), Child influences on marital and family interaction. New York: Academic Press, 1978.

Lieberman, A. F. Preschoolers' competence with a peer: Relations with attachment and peer experience. Child Development, 1977, 48, 1277-1287.

Patterson, F. G., Bonvillian, J. D., Reynolds, P. C., & Maccoby, E. E. Mother and peer attachment under conditions of fear in rhesus monkeys (Macca mulatta). Primates, 1975, 16, 75-81.

Pederson, F. A., Anderson, B. T., & Cain, R. L. An approach to understanding linkages between the parent-infant and spouse relationships. Paper presented at the biennial meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development, New Orleans, 1977.

Rollins, B. C., & Galligan, R. The developing child and marital satisfaction of parents. In R. M. Lerner & G. B Spanier (Eds.), Child influences on marital and family interacti . New York: Academic Press, 1978.

Rutter, M. Fifteen thousand hours. Cambridge, Mas .: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Strayer, F. F. An ethological analysis of preschool social ecology. In W. A. Collins (Ed.), Minnesota symposia on child psychology. Vol. 13. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1979, in press.

Suomi, S. J. Differential development of various social relationships by rhesus monkey infants. In M. Lewis & L. A. Rosenblum (Eds.), The social network of the developing infant. New York: Plenum, 1978.

Waters, E., Wippman, J., & Sroufe, L. A. Social competence in preschool children as a function of the security of earlier attachment to the mother. Child Development, 1979, in press.

Whiting, B. B., & Whiting, J. W. M. Children of six cultures. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Winder, C. L., & Rau, L. Parental attitudes associated with social deviance in preadolescent boys. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1962, 64, 418-424.